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Heritage tourism and ethnic identity: A deductive thematic analysis of Jamaican Maroons

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Abstract:

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to explore heritage tourism within the framework of ethnic identity by examining tourism as a tool for promoting ethnic identity and traditions of the Maroons in Jamaica.

Methods: Qualitative research using in-depth interviews was used to collect relevant data. The findings were analyzed using the deductive thematic analysis approach and discussed within the theoretical framework of ethnic identity.

Results: A major deduction of the study is that there are factors that either hinder or promote the Maroon's identity and traditions. The study concludes that the Maroon's ethnic identity can be promoted through ethnic tourism which is a form of heritage tourism. This form of tourism facilitates the showcasing of their traditions which is consequently passed on to the younger generation for posterity.

Implications: The findings will be very resourceful to the Maroon communities in Jamaica and across the Caribbean, especially in terms of best practices in preserving their heritage and ethnic identity. It will also inform government and other tourism stakeholders as to their role in providing the necessary resources to enable the preservation of the Maroon's ethnic identity and traditions.

Keywords: heritage tourism; ethnic identity; ethnic tourism; Jamaican Maroons; African culture, deductive thematic analysis

JEL Classification: C44, L83, Z39

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1 INTRODUCTION

Tourism is classified among the largest industries in the world (Hrubcova et al., 2016) and by nature facilitates travel around the globe for the purpose of business, leisure, sports and for persons to enjoy the natural environment as well as interact with local communities. The latter travel motivator is becoming a prominent reason for travel. People are seeking engagement and experience with local cultures (Hawkes & Kwornik, 2006). This is to obtain cultural knowledge and insights and to share in the meanings of the cultural practices and significances (Gibson & Connell, 2003). It is also found that the most experienced travelers are desirous of experiencing different cultures (Pearce & Lee, 2005) and that cultural reasons are important for the purposeful cultural tourists (McKercher & Du Cros, 2003; Pinar et al., 2019).

This authentic experience is encapsulated in the terminology, ethnic tourism which according to Yang and Wall (2009) can encourage economic and cultural development. Ethnic tourism requires the demonstration of ethnic identity, which is the display of an individual's "sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership" (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987, p. 13). This form of special interest tourism can encourage economic and cultural development (Yang & Wall, 2009). Ethnic tourism is incorporated into heritage tourism (Neilson, 2016) as the latter allows for the transmission of traditions from the past to the present (Timothy and Boyd, 2003).

Supporting the view that ethnic identity is the cornerstone of ethnic tourism, Vergun and Grishin (2020) argues that a group's ethnicity encourages the development of a new tourist product that allows visitors to appreciate the

uniqueness of ethnic communities. There are, however, indications of the decline in ethnic identity, some of which are external influences (Henderson, 2003; MacCannell, 1984). For example, some indigenous and local communities have lost or are on the verge of losing their ethnic identity as well as traditions due to a lack of sustained initiatives to preserve their culture. As indicated by Lumsden, Percy and McKenzie (2013), the Maroons in Jamaica is one such ethnic community whose culture and traditions are not being sustained, especially among the younger generation. The Maroon community is one of Jamaica's most prized ethnic possessions which according to Campbell (1988) was established by slaves brought in from the African continent and who later fled the reign of the Europeans. The Maroon's unique cultural resource developed from their resistance to enslavement, resettlement history and ties to Africa (Taylor, 2016). From these experiences, they shape their own 'social organization patterns of culture, kinship, and defense' (Bilby, 2005).

It is believed that the Maroons in the Caribbean are hoping that tourism can save their culture (Jamaica Observer, 2012). Nonetheless, Kearn (2015) finds that the Jamaican culture was virtually erased in the tourism industry's effort to promote the "authentic" Jamaican culture, particularly through its online materials. Overall, it is construed that tourism can construct and reconstruct culture as its offerings are based on connections to the host culture (Taylor et al., 2014; Fotiadis et al, 2019; Vassiliadis et al, 2013)). Tourism is also a conduit for ethnic communities to share their identity while simultaneously advancing the economy (Neilson, 2015). In particular, Yan and Wall (2016) declare that ethnic tourism is an effective means for strengthening the identity of ethnic communities.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to explore heritage tourism within the framework of ethnic identity by examining tourism as a tool for promoting ethnic identity and traditions, focusing on the Maroons in Jamaica. The literature also calls for greater focus on cultural and social issues in small island states to increase awareness of the strengths and adaptability of its people (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008). Hence, the study will examine the Maroons' traditions and ethnic identity to provide insight into their way of life as well as how the Maroon culture has progressed or regressed based on ethnic identity factors.

The study will be analyzed using a qualitative research design. Data collected by way of interview were analyzed using the deductive thematic analysis approach. The findings of the study were discussed within the framework of ethnic identity. This is a plausible theory as it explains the psychological functioning of members of ethnic and racial minority communities (Pinkney, 1990). The Maroons are described as having a distinct ethnic identity which created a cultural distinctiveness despite their integration into the wider political and economic systems (Bilby, 1981). In support, the ethnic identity theory proposes that each individual belongs to groups that are differentiated by patterned interactions and relationships because of their ethnicity (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Additionally, the use of the theory within the context of the Maroons in Jamaica will be a novel approach as Yeh and Hwang (2000) purports that the multidimensional ethnic identity theory has predominantly been used in the literature to study Asian

American populations and not necessarily applied to the historical context of Afro-centric immigrants in the Caribbean.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In exploring the role tourism can play in promoting the retention, identity and traditions of the Maroons in Jamaica within the context of ethnic tourism, the literature was reviewed to ascertain information on ethnic tourism, the theory of ethnic identity, a historical review of the Jamaican Maroons, factors that hinder and promote their ethnic identity as well as the role of tourism in promoting and retaining ethnic identity and traditions.

2.1 Preamble of ethnic tourism

Ethnic tourism is "tourism marketed to the public taking into consideration the "quaint customs of indigenous and often exotic people" (Smith, 1977, p. 2). It is an effective tool to strengthen the identity of ethnic communities by offering opportunities to display local culture, revitalize customs, vernacular and ethnic pride (Boissevain, 1996). This form of tourism displays indigenous communities and their cultural artifacts such as music, costume, and dance as the primary tourist attraction (Hiwasaki, 2000). Through this exchange, there are usually three groups of people involved consistently in ethnic tourism: the tourist, the "touree" and the middleman (Mavragani et al., 2019). The "touree" is usually a member from the community acting in the role of the culture display; while the middleman mediates the interaction between the tourist and the "touree" for financial gain (Van den Berghe, 1994). Unfortunately, the agent that functions as the middleman retains a larger portion of the benefits accrued from ethnic tourism (Picard & Wood, 1997), even though the central attraction and performance are exhibited by the "touree".

This problem creates a unique opportunity for local leaders embedded in the tourees' society to play an active role in ethnic tourist interactions, in that they are advocating for the best interest of the touree. The discourse associated with ethnic enclaves has promoted dialogue among scholars through the lens of the 'tourism gaze' (Urry, 2002), that either aids or hinders the social or economic well-being of members in ethnic communities. For example, on one hand, tourist exploitation tendencies have been uncovered in a mass tourism context when multiple tourism parties were involved (Christou, 2006; Samarathunga, 2019), but on the other hand, tourist gaze has enabled community members to gain financially from displaying their cultural values and practices (Woodside, 2015).

Urry (2002) developed the theory of tourist gaze to explain that tourists are able to alter their perception of a place, people or activity based on their observation and interaction with the tourism product or service. Since then, this theory has evolved into a multi-faced concept to include local gaze, host gaze and intra-tourist gaze, explaining contextual forces that shape actors gaze as part of a comprehensive performative tourist practice (Thompson, et al., 2016). A critical review of the tourist gaze literature reveals that out of the multi-faced gaze, host-guest encounters are more dominant (Lin & Fu, 2020); Nevertheless, several studies

have identified the absence of domestic institutions that significantly affect the tourist gaze (Gillespie, 2006; Moufakkir, 2011). Notably, some scholars escape discussions about the cultural preservation and improvement of cultural values due to tourism gaze (Samarathunga & Cheng, 2020). This is an important perspective to explore in that it positions a unique element of the tourism destination's ethnic enclaves, as a product that has the potential to be commoditized from tourist gaze if properly monitored through institutions that have the tourist's best interest.

2.2 Understanding the theory of ethnic identity

Although ethnicity is often used interchangeably with culture, they are separate terms (Bolaffi, 2003). On the one hand, ethnicity is described as the grouping of individuals who connect on the basis of common values that differentiate them from other groups and these differences reside in their traditions, ancestry language, and religion as well as their social treatment within their residing area (Peoples & Bailey, 2010). On the other hand, culture refers broadly to a group's values, norms, attitudes, and behaviors that may not be derived from ethnic affiliation (Phinney, 1996). Culture is usually based on variables such as religion, language and class (Holliday, 2010). Hence, there is the demarcation between one's cultural identity and ethnic identity. Cultural identity relates to the identity of a group of people based on their culture (Stryker & Burke, 2000; Wong, et al., 2011) while, ethnic identity is often used to discover more detailed information about the knowledge, beliefs, and expectation of a particular ethnic community (Phinney, 1990).

Albeit complex in definition, ethnic identity has been framed as a durable, prominent feature of self that extends one's feeling of belonging in a social unit (Tajfel, 1978). This theoretical framework has been extended by Arredondo (1999) to include a multidimensional perspective that accounts for one's social, cultural, historical and familial context. It is argued that these contexts broaden people's perspectives about what is normal and desirable behavior patterns (Arredondo, 1999).

Taking a progressivism approach, recent scholars have framed ethnic identity as a process of development that accounts for individual changes overtime in identity, values, and behavior as people interact with various cultures (Berry et al., 1986) instead of being portrayed as a static or final outcome (Sue & Sue, 1990; Chami & Kaminyoge, 2019). Arguably, an ethnic community that is knowledgeable about its ancestral roots is more inclined to conform and integrate awareness to the values, identity, traditions, and customs of their ancestors than those who are unaware (Sue & Sue, 1990).

2.3 Historical review of the Jamaican Maroon

The origin of the Maroons dates back to 1655 when the British gained control of Jamaica after the Spanish invasion (Campbell, 1988). Jamaica was formerly inhabited by the Tainos for over 150 years. These aborigines were virtually erased by the time the British came to Jamaica (Kopytoff, 1978). The Maroons were former slaves predominantly from African descent who fled their Spanish captors and later English attempts to re-enslave them, to establish autonomous communities in the mountainous parts of Jamaica, also known as the Cockpit Country (Campbell, 1988). They

divided into two groups and settled in either Leeward (those occupying the western part of the island) or Windward (occupying the eastern part of the island) locations (McKee, 2017).

The Maroon communities in Jamaica are often termed free villages. Accompong, Charles Town, Moore Town and Scotts Hall are cited by Bilby (1981) as the four major ones in Jamaica (Figure 1). They are located in the mountainous areas, predominantly in the eastern parishes of Portland and St. Thomas. On the eastern side of Jamaica are Charles Town and Moore Town in Portland, and Scotts Hall in St. Mary. Accompong Town spans across St. Elizabeth in the southern section of Jamaica and the Cockpit Country in the west. These communities resulted from the 1739 Treaty between the British and the Africans who ran away from slavery to the mountainous regions (Campbell, 1988). This allows the Maroons legal control of the lands on which the communities exist, the rights to conduct trials for petty crimes and the selection of their leaders. Some tourists to Jamaica visit these areas to observe and engage in the traditions of this indigenous sect (Taylor & Kneafsey, 2016).

The growth of the Maroon villages was a result of slave rebellions, individual and group escape from the plantations as well as plantation raids by Maroons who captured or recruited slaves to join their societies (Patterson, 1970). Furthermore, the Maroons were skilled fighters who were not so easily overcome by the British soldiers and would put up strong defenses when pursued. The ongoing battle between the Maroons and the British went on for decades until in 1739, the British who failed to overpower the Maroons, signed a peace treaty (Hart, 1980). The agreement was for the Maroons to hunt or return future run-away slaves and in return, the British would acknowledge their freedom, grant them land and allow small-scale trading between the two parties (Patterson, 1970). The Maroons' ethnic identity was predominantly influenced by Coromantee or Akan cultures in West Africa. According to Taylor et al. (2014), extensive research has shown similarities between the Maroon culture and the Akan-speakers of West Africa, particularly in their religious practices of obeah, musical instruments such as the abeng and in language. The following information provides comprehensive details of each of the Maroon communities:

(i). Accompong Town

This Maroon community is located in the south-western part of the island particularly in the Cockpit Country which spans across the parishes of St. Elizabeth and Trelawny. It is stated that when the British bombed the Blue Mountains and its environs, the Maroons fled to the Cockpit Country in Trelawny and after many years they eventually spread into the area now known as Accompong Town. The village was originally named after an early Maroon leader. Led by Cudjoe, the Maroons of Accompong signed the 1739 Treaty (DjeDje, 1998). The occurrence took place under the Kindah Tree and this symbolic tree forms part of the attractions in Accompong. The area comprises of 1500 acres of land and as with other Maroon communities, this free community was given political autonomy and economic freedom which remain currently. Since 2009, Colonel in Chief Ferron Williams has been leading the Accompong Maroon Community aided by the Council. Cultural practices in Accompong are unique as these are a combination of

traditions from the Akan and Asante African ancestors, and the Taino Indian aborigines. There is an annual Accompong Town Festival held on January 6 to celebrate the birthday of the former leader, Cudjoe (DjeDje, 1998). This festival showcases the cultural and heritage legacies of the Maroons to include music, drumming dance, costumes, food and artifacts.

(ii). Charles Town

Originally known as Crawford Town, Charles Town is in the east-central parts of Jamaica (Bilby, 1981) and is established on approximately 1,000 acres of land. It was then headed by Captain Quao who was instrumental in signing the 1739 Treaty (Johnson, 2020). Subsistence farming has been the predominant mainstay of the community. Due to the need to expand the economy of the community, the area was opened to tours by both local and international visitors. This historical tour includes a visit to the museum to see the traditional artifacts; music, drumming and dancing in the Asafu Yard; a trip to the old coffee plantation and to Sambo Hill which was a strategic lookout point to the sea and surrounding landscape; and the eating of jerk chicken and pork which is a traditional way of preparing meats with special blends of herb and a particular cooking method using pimento sticks. This form of community tourism has added to the economic sustainability of the community. Since 2006, an annual Maroon Festival is held in June to celebrate the victory of Captain Quao, commemorate the traditions of the Maroons and honor their ancestors.

(iii). Moore Town

This Maroon community is located in the parish of Portland in the Blue Mountains (Johnson, 2020). It is the largest of the Maroon communities and was originally known as Nanny Town with its first leader, Nanny who became one of the National Heroes of Jamaica (Johnson, 2020). This community was quite extensive having 140 houses built to accommodate families who ran away from the institution of slavery. These were, however, burnt by the British militia but through reliance and zeal, were subsequently rebuilt. The terrain of the area enabled the Maroons to use ambush and crossfire tactics to evade the British many times.

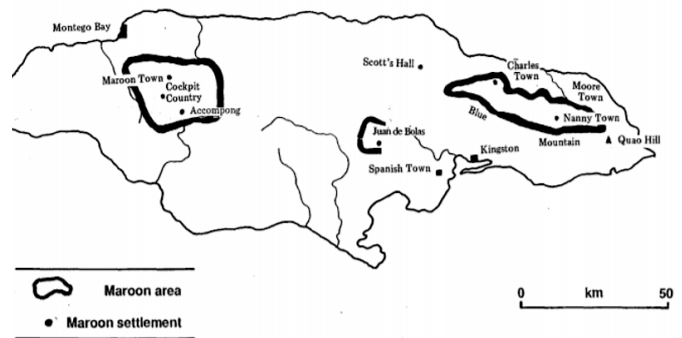
The current leader is Colonel Wallace Sterling and the main attraction for the area is the Bump Grave. This is an oblong stone and plaque marking the gravesite of Nanny. Annually, on October 19, there is a festival in Moore Town to celebrate the birthday of Nanny.

(iv). Scotts Hall

Located in the parish of St. Mary in the eastern section part of the country this Maroon community was originally called Kushu Town (Elliott, 2020). It was established after the first maroon war ended and is the first Maroon village to have a Court House and its own hospital. Since 2015, the community is being led by Colonel Rudolph Pink who succeeded Noel Frey after 33 years of service in that capacity. Each year the community celebrates August 1 to commemorate the signing of the peace treaty in 1738. In order to preserve its heritage, efforts were put in place to construct a museum, community center, and internet cafe. These are, however, not fully completed. Scotts Hall is

known for a range of medicinal herbs and other plants for healing.

Figure 1: Maroon areas of Jamaica. Source: Baldwin-Jones, 2011



2.4 Factors that hinder the Maroon ethnic identity

As the Maroon communities grew, the merging of many independent groups into larger units became quite challenging. This resulted in a period of active feuding, highly influenced by land ownership, ethnic rivalries, whether the slave was captured or ran away freely (Kopytoff, 1978), language and gender (Bush, 1990). In Kopytoff's (1978) analysis of the early development of the Jamaican Maroon societies, it was argued that areas of refuge diminished as the Maroon bands grew, causing them to constantly compete for territories as they ran into each other. Furthermore, the rivalries increased if the Maroons were of different ethnic identity.

Separate from the Jamaican Tainos, other Amerindians, as well as Madagascar slaves, joined the Maroon communities in the 17th and 18th centuries (Wright, 1970). The Madagascar slaves were closely related to Malaysia and later integrated into the Leeward community, where they were taught the common culture of the Maroons, but continued separately as an ethnic community using their own language and customs in private for many years (Kopytoff, 1976). Also, there were Spanish ex-slaves left by the Spaniards when the English took over. They formed a distinct reference group among the Maroons (Dallas, 2010). Rivalries even persist within certain Maroon ethnic groups such as the Coromantee as well as between African and Creole Maroons (Maroons born in the woods without experiences of plantation life) (Patterson, 1967). For example, the Coromantee Maroons in the Leeward part of the Island seemingly displeased with the contractual terms and agreement, united with Coromantee slaves on a neighboring plantation to wipe out the entire Creole Maroons or those who came from foreign countries to create their own Coromantee society (Kopytoff, 1976).

The historical records also show a limited number of women and children in the Maroon society between 1739 and 1749 (Kopytoff, 1976). This sexual imbalance can be traced back to periods prior to the peace treaty in 1739 where the slaves were not reproducing; furthermore, the challenge of constantly being pursued by the English was a major factor that enabled this adversity (Kopytoff, 1976). The Maroons' numbers only increased when escapees joined the societies or when Maroons would raid nearby plantations. Consequently,

reliance on outside sources for growth and strength hindered the Maroon's ability to develop at a rate they were capable of as a society and made them unaware of alternative options within that could have been just as effective.

Today, the Maroons constitute a minor portion of the population in Jamaica. Approximately 5,000 persons are living in the country, others have migrated. This could possibly result from the 'foreign minded' perception among Jamaica's most intelligent youths who would relocate to another country today if possible (Baines, 2017). Seo (2012) concludes that areas with a declining population are challenged in retaining inhabitants and sustaining economic activity.

2.5 Factors that promote the Maroon ethnic identity and traditions

The mixture of African descendants in the Caribbean today ensures that only a handful of people's identity is contingent on a particular African area or ethnic group (Smith, Augier, & Nettleford, 1967). It is indisputable that the Jamaican Maroons ethnically diverse population in the early 18th century created challenges such as ethnic rivalries that took some time to address, but they eventually integrated as a society (Kopytoff, 1974). Since the majority of those enslaved were among the Akan-speaking people of the Gold Coast of West Africa, Kopytoff (1978) argue that prior to slavery, the Coromantee slaves who were not originated from similar regions might have been hostile rivals in their homeland. However, they were bonded together in Jamaica by a wide range of commonalities that redefined their ethnicity to now being part of an "ethnic pool of slaves from broadly similar backgrounds" (Kopytoff 1978, p. 35) or the simple fact that they may have shared the middle passage or will forever be cut off from their ties at home. Kopytoff (1978) further stated that in order to develop commonalities, adjustments were made to the differences in languages, customs, and cultures to merge into a common culture that all would accept.

Another factor that promoted ethnic identity and traditions were the marriages between local white planters and certain Jamaican Maroons during the inter-war years between 1739 (the year the peace treaty was signed) and 1795 (the Second Maroon War) (Hoogbergen, 2008). During this time, the Maroons and local white planters had many social interactions. For example, Whites observed Maroon ceremonies and dances, slept with and marry Maroon women and even went as far as learning the Maroons' Kromanti language (Burnard, 2001). Also, Maroons would give the names of prominent white planters in the area to their children (McKee, 2017). During this time, there were no reports of violent clashes over land, or any incidence of violence (McKee, 2017). Most of the tensions surrounding land disputes were resolved in non-violent relations (Campbell, 1988). In particular, the Maroons chose representatives from their own people to resolve disputed land boundaries instead of those assigned by government officials (McKee, 2017). Extending Kopytoff's (1974) analogy of Maroon treaties with the local white farmers as 'sacred charters'; McKee (2017) stated that this was also a transitionary period that enabled the Maroons to redefine self and their capacity to function in Jamaica society, thus, shedding their former identity as slaves to establish new roles

as Maroons. Burnard (2001) further proposed that in order for free people to escape the stigma of slavery, changing the names formerly given by their masters would complete their assertions to creating a new identity.

The Maroons were also resilient fighters who employed many strategies to maintain their freedom. Like the Native Americans who also experienced a history of bondage, the males, in particular, were often victims of ritual torture and sacrifice when enslaved (Littlefield, 1977 as cited in Johnson, 2014); Consequently, this experience enabled them to become warriors who were integral to the expansion and protection of the Maroon villages. Women were also invaluable resources in the Maroon societies in that they took on several roles such as wives, mothers, and laborers (Johnson, 2014). How formerly enslaved women arrive at the maroon villages was an indication of their bravery and strength; that is, whether the women fled to the Maroons willingly or were forced by Maroon raiders (Johnson, 2014). Traits of strength and bravery made women ideal partners and mothers to raise future Maroon warriors (Bush, 1990). Nanny, one of the Maroons in Jamaica was elevated in that society. She and her four brothers escaped their plantations and Nanny became an influential leader in the Windward Maroon community that contributed to the escape of over 1000 slaves in her lifetime (Bilby, 2017). Today, she is known in Jamaica as the only female national hero (Cummings, 2012).

2.6 The role of tourism in promoting and retaining ethnic identity and traditions

Today, Jamaican Maroons are no longer hindered by inter-ethnic rivalries or the need to resolve conflicts related to internal land territories (Kopytoff, 1976; Patterson, 1967); neither are they limited by their ability to procreate (Kopytoff, 1976), since recent data shows a higher percentage of women compared to men (50.4) (Worldbank.org, 2019), who can move freely across the parishes in Jamaica. However, the Jamaican Maroon's posterity is threatened by internal migration from these communities to other parts of the Island and overseas in pursuit of economic opportunities (Baines, 2017), which endangers the preservation of their unique culture and pride. Correspondingly, as Jamaican Maroons promoted their ethnic identity and traditions through adjusting to their new reality of living off the land, inter-marriages and becoming resilient fighters (Hoogbergen, 2008; Johnson, 2014), the same can be achieved through tourism.

The Maroons unique ancient traditions can be packaged into tourism products that have the potential to simultaneously promote ethnic identity and revive economic opportunities, suppress migration of the youth and maintain cultural pride. Considering the growing interest in community-based tourism experiences (Mayaka et al., 2019), and heritage tourism (Timothy, 2018); there is a need to explore alternative tourism generating opportunities, especially for communities with a rich historical background as the Jamaican Maroons.

The tourism industry in Jamaica has developed over the years through the chronological efforts of several organizations such as the Jamaica Tourist Authority (JTA), Tourist Trade Development Board (TTDB), Jamaica International Exhibition Act of 1891 and the Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB).

However, these efforts were unable to change the typical sun, sea, and sand image of Jamaica to one that integrates the uniqueness of local communities in the tourism product (Stupart & Shipley, 2013). Currently, the Jamaican tourism market is dominated by the all-inclusive accommodation concept that allows tourists to purchase a package deal that includes almost everything that appeal to the guest including transportation, transfers, lodging, food, beverages, entertainment and activities (Ozdemir et al., 2012). Due to the availability of everything on the property, tourists rarely have the need to visit other locations or spend time outside the hotel property (Anderson, 2008), thereby contributing to the ongoing issue of tourism revenue leakage from local residents to foreign investors (Bahar, 2004).

Alternatively, ethnic tourism has the potential to raise revenue and currency for countries with ethnic minority communities since it promotes the concept of tourists experiencing first-hand the authentic culture of its people in their own communities (Jamison, 1999; Wood, 1998). In addition to the economic benefits to be derived, the literature reveals that ethnic tourism can revive the identity of ethnic communities by offering opportunities to display local culture, revitalize customs, vernacular and ethnic pride (Boissevain, 1996).

Similarly, heritage tourism's (a term used synonymously with ethnic tourism) appeal to tourists goes beyond the physical presentation or attractiveness of the product to include "the significance of the images, meanings, and symbols attached to them" (Park, 2014, p. 2). To discover these meanings, one must be present to experience, feel and touch the tangible and intangible elements that such tourism products have to offer. Today's tourists are not motivated to passively view the natural resources when traveling to a destination, but to actively immerse themselves through activities such as people watching, walking around, and engaging with residents way of life and local culture (Yeoman, 2012; Smith & Robinson, 2008). These experiences translate into richer tourists' memory of the experience that can be relieved when they return home (Taylor, 2016). Promoting these models of tourism experience extends tourism benefits into local communities since locals are usually the ones who manage and execute these authentic experiences that travelers seek.

According to the Jamaica Social Investment Fund / JSIF (2009) the 'natural and creative energy of the Jamaican on display would transform average citizens into entrepreneurs. Arguably, this effort will require an 'integrated approach' from all stakeholders (Stupart & Shipley, 2013), but the time, cost and effort to secure, monitor and execute community-based tourism at any level will far outweigh the benefits and promote a sustainable approach to tourism (Sebele, 2010). Government and other stakeholders have an important role to play in the development and sustainability of ethnic tourism (Yang et al., 2008). In fact, local populations tend to rely on them for assistance (Baptista, 2010).

for promoting ethnic identity and traditions with a focus on the Maroons in Jamaica. The research is exploratory in nature and utilized a qualitative research design employing in-depth interviews. This type of interview is aimed at collecting detailed information which according to Guion, Diehl and McDonald (2011) would otherwise be difficult to obtain from other sources.

Based on this premise, in-depth interview was used and although a lengthy process, the interviewees were passionate about their way of life and thus, were very cooperative and responsive. Hence, they were able to provide detailed information regarding the Maroon communities in terms of traditions, factors that either hinder or promote the preservation of these traditions and, their perceptions of tourism in promoting the Maroon's identity. Not only is an in-depth interview able to garner detailed information about a person's thoughts but also to provide the context in relation to other sources and to form a complete picture of the Maroon communities and surrounding matters (Boyce & Neale (2006). It is therefore ideal in conducting this research so as to provide a more complete picture of the Maroon communities and surrounding matters.

The interviews are intended to substantiate the literature and garner primary data. They were conducted with colonels from four selected Maroon communities in Jamaica between December 2017 and January 2018. They are Accompong, Moore Town, Charles Town and Scotts Hall. These communities were selected for the study because they are designated Maroon communities (Bilby (1981). The in-depth interviews were conducted via telephone. This is because in-depth interviews can be lengthy, and the use of telephone calls would reduce time in terms of travelling to the hilly terrains to conduct the interview as well as the associated costs.

The in-depth interview approach is supported by Glogowska, Young and Lockyer (2011) who posit that telephone interview is an effective way of collecting qualitative data when compared to the in-person interview. Some of the advantages include decreased cost (Chapple, 1999), increased access to geographically dissimilar subjects (Sturges & Hanrahan, 2004; Sweet, 2002), and the ability to take notes discreetly (Carr & Worth, 2001). In addition, telephone interview permits participants to stay on "their own turf" (McCoyd & Kerson, 2006, p. 399), influence anonymity (Sweet, 2002) and privacy (Sturges & Hanrahan, 2006), decrease social pressure, and increase rapport (McCoyd & Kerson, 2006).

To adequately address the aims of this study, the steps of deductive thematic analysis as described by Braun and Clarke (2006) were used to analyze the interview responses. They are: (1) Familiarization, (2) Generation of Initial Codes, (3) Searching for themes, (4) Reviewing themes, (5) Defining themes and (6) Scholarly report. The deductive approach was chosen based on a priori themes identified in the literature prior conducting the research. These themes are factors that hinder the Maroon's identity and traditions; factors that promote the Maroon's identity and traditions; and the role of tourism in promoting and retaining the Maroons' identity and traditions.

This method is driven by theory but still goes beyond merely counting words and phrases to infer latent meaning and relationships among themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research design

The study seeks to explore heritage tourism within the framework of ethnic identity. It examines tourism as a tool

3.2 Deductive thematic analysis

The deductive thematic approach was used to analyze data gathered by way of the telephone interviews. This is appropriate where there is a predetermined framework and theory (Gill et al., 2008). Following Braun and Clarke's (2006) deductive method of analysis, after familiarization with the data, initial codes were developed to identify common responses based on the established themes. This is important since the interview notes only describe the situations but do not provide interpretations and explanations (Gill et al, 2008). Consequently, the following three themes were identified:

1. Factors that hinder the Maroon's identity and traditions
2. Factors that promote the Maroon's identity and traditions
3. The role of tourism in promoting and retaining the Maroons' identity and

4 ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to explore heritage tourism within the framework of ethnic identity by examining tourism as a tool for promoting ethnic identity and traditions. The study focused on designated Maroon communities in Jamaica. The findings are analyzed within the context of the literature on the Maroon communities in Jamaica and the results of the deductive thematic analysis.

4.1 Literature review analysis

The literature revealed that the Maroons in Jamaica are a particular sect in the society, residing in the mountainous regions of Jamaica. Their current residential location is as a result of their ancestors fleeing the institution of slavery to live in those areas because they were hiding from the British colonialists who were not familiar with the location and terrain of the mountainous areas. Despite being a minority group as pointed out by Abeng Central (n.d), the Maroons have established their own identity with unique cultural practices. Smith et al. (1967) justified this minor composition by pointing out that many people's identity in the Caribbean is dependent on a particular ethnic group. The original 'run away' slaves should be credited for this.

Notwithstanding their varying African origin, they bonded together and developed communities among their cultures as well as established a common culture that was acceptable to all of them (Kopytoff, 1978). They have established their own ethnic identity which as described by Tajfel (1978), is the connectedness of people within a social group and by Stryker & Burke (2000) as patterns of interactions and relationships that differentiate them.

Whether consciously or unconsciously, the Maroons' connectedness to Africa boosted their self-esteem and resiliency, enabling them to do whatever was necessary to sustain themselves and their people. According to Taylor et al (2014), the inherency of the Maroons' African identity along with the idea of self-sustenance enabled them to look beyond their present hardships to future aspirations. Their memory of life prior to captivity fueled their resistance to the European attempts to re-enslave them, are invaluable stories that could be integrated into the tourism experience, either at the management or experiential level.

4.2 Scholarly report on the deductive thematic analysis

Tables 1 to 4 illustrate the responses from the Maroon communities regarding the three themes that were deduced. Given the ethical obligation to the research process to protect the identity of representatives from each Maroon community and to assure confidentiality, the names of each community were identified as "A", "B", "C" and "D".

Table 1: Summary of responses from the Maroon Community A

Maroon community	Factors that hinder the Maroon's identity and traditions	Factors that promote the Maroon's identity and traditions	The role of tourism in promoting and retaining the Maroons' identity and traditions
A	<p>A small portion of the Maroons do not show much pride and confidence in their culture due to the perception that tradition is not worthy to be preserved and that the tradition is backward and Afro-centric.</p> <p>These cause them to be apprehensive and they do not want to be identified as Maroon descendants.</p> <p>Some persons of the Christian religion do not embrace the Maroon practices and beliefs.</p> <p>Income from tourism activities is inadequate to sustain the community</p>	<p>Maintaining tradition.</p> <p>Many Maroons show pride in their culture.</p> <p>Strong preservation thrust to pass on tradition to younger generation.</p> <p>Promotion of culture through food/cuisine, selling of drums and exposing visitors to the traditions.</p> <p>Friday evening drumming and dancing, primarily for the community members but open to outsiders.</p> <p>Annual conference held in June to include the community, scholars and researchers locally and overseas to document history and traditions.</p> <p>Group performs at local hotels.</p> <p>There is the need to tour overseas.</p>	<p>Tourism promotes and retains the Maroons' identity and traditions through frequent tours of the community; visitors having appreciation and knowledge of the artefacts, history and heritage; consuming the traditional food; and participating in the traditional music, dancing and drumming.</p>

There are several hindrances that cause some level of decline in the preservation of the Maroon's ethnic identity. The study finds that some of the Maroon descendants take part in the country's General Elections and this is not customary to do as they have their own governance system. There is also another concern where some Maroons are entrenched in the Christian religion and will not participate in the rituals, traditional practices, and beliefs of the Maroon. As posited by Peoples and Bailey (2010), religion is among those factors that identify an ethnic group. These findings are justified by Henderson (2003) who points out that external influences are hindrances to the upholding of ethnic traditions.

Table 2: Summary of Responses from the Maroon Community B

Maroon community	Factors that hinder the Maroon's identity and traditions	Factors that promote the Maroon's identity and traditions	The role of tourism in promoting and retaining the Maroons' identity and traditions
B	<p>Some Maroons have no pride in their culture.</p> <p>Some are resistive due to religious belief; mainly Christianity and so do not embrace the Maroon culture.</p> <p>There is also a perception formed about Maroons which cannot be prevented.</p>	<p>Some Maroons are proud of what their ancestors have done.</p> <p>The Maroon culture and traditions are promoted through their unique dance, songs, and the Maroon dialect.</p> <p>The young generations are taught these traditions.</p> <p>There is a Culture Center.</p> <p>There is intention to build a Cultural Village, but this needs funding.</p> <p>There is also the Annual Celebration in October held on the third Monday to honor the life of Nanny.</p>	<p>It has helped; visitors spread the word around about their offerings. Showing their cultural practices helps to promote the traditions of the Maroon.</p>

Table 3: Summary of responses from the Maroon Community C

Maroon community	Factors that hinder the Maroon's identity and traditions	Factors that promote the Maroon's identity and traditions	The role of tourism in promoting and retaining the Maroons' identity and traditions
C	<p>Not a lot of Maroons have held on to their identity. They vote in the General Election.</p> <p>The Colonel does not vote in the General Election in an effort to preserve the Maroon identity.</p> <p>The leadership of the Maroon communities needs to pressure government to recognize their rights for example to stop the payment of land taxes.</p> <p>There is the need to:</p> <p>i). change name from British / Colonist origin to African / Indigenous Maroon.</p> <p>ii). Have indigenous birth and marriage certificates.</p> <p>iii). Have indigenous ID to be identified as a Maroon.</p>	<p>Efforts to preserve maroon culture and tradition include the blowing of the abeng which is the first communication instrument.</p> <p>There are varying sounds for different messages ...sick, death, newborn.</p>	<p>There is no tourism in this area. No tourist comes to the area.</p> <p>Therefore, tourism does not help to promote and retain the Maroons' identity and traditions.</p> <p>Regular tourism could create jobs for the people.</p>

An analysis of the findings for three themes studied (factors that hinder the Maroon's identity and traditions, factors that promote the Maroon's identity and traditions, and the role of tourism in promoting and retaining the Maroons' identity and traditions) are presented in the following sections.

Table 4: Summary of responses from the Maroon Community D

Maroon community	Factors that hinder the Maroon's identity and traditions	Factors that promote the Maroon's identity and traditions	The role of tourism in promoting and retaining the Maroons' identity and traditions
D	<p>The main hindrance is "Americanism" where a few persons want to bleach to change their skin tone.</p> <p>Bleaching, scamming and other breach of the law are not tolerated. If persons do otherwise, then they are tried and punished by the Maroon law.</p> <p>Although there are Christians in the community, these persons still participate in the Maroon traditions as these are not considered contrary to the Christian belief.</p> <p>There are seven denominations / churches.</p> <p>There are also rum bars.</p>	<p>Their identity and tradition are promoted through drumming, dancing and annual festival activities.</p> <p>The people are proud of their heritage and the culture is instilled in the young from an early age.</p> <p>Revenue is gained from the performances both in and outside of our town, but this could be improved.</p>	<p>Yes, tourism educates both visitors and the young generation of Maroons.</p> <p>When tourists visit and return home, they share the information about the Maroons and our town.</p> <p>The government will also benefit as tourists will return to Jamaica and others will visit.</p> <p>The 280 years of African heritage and history of our ancestor that fought for freedom in Jamaica is to be recognized as if it was not for them, we would still be in bondage.</p> <p>Tourists want to see the culture. They go on tours and watch the performances. In doing so the Maroons maintain their traditions.</p> <p>Accommodation is also provided in our town. This also helps in promoting and retaining the Maroons' identity and traditions.</p>

Theme 1: Factors that hinder the Maroon's identity and traditions

Aside from external influences, it is reported that some Maroons do not show pride in their culture as it is perceived as being backward. These hindrances according to Berry et al. (1986) are due to changes in an individual's identity, behavior and values. To mitigate some of these hindrances, one Maroon community intends to revert to having original African names so as to strengthen their ethnic identity. As

noted by McKee (2017), Maroons would give the names of prominent white planters to their children to maintain peace after the treaty. Having original African names could possibly strengthen their ethnic identity. These names would be within the African language and according to Peoples and Bailey (2010) one's ancestry language is a component of one's ethnic identity.

Theme 2: Factors that promote the Maroon's identity and traditions

The study finds that there are factors promoting the Maroon's identity and traditions. Having a rich history that started in the 17th century and the many artifacts, monuments and cultural practices are valuable characteristics of the Maroon's ethnic identity. This is supported by Arredondo (1999) who identified historical and cultural contexts as two of the three dimensions of ethnic identity. The study also finds that a majority of the Maroon communities are using their historical and cultural legacies to showcase for tourism during tours by visitors as well as the various festivals. As explained by Yang and Walls (2009), these can encourage both economic and cultural development. Additionally, the study reveals that tourism is promoting and retaining the identity and traditions of the Maroons through their cultural practices. This is supported by Sinclair-Maragh and Gursay (2017) who find that tourism contributes to the preservation of culture which further helps to sustain cultural identity and build residents' sense of belonging in small island states.

The use of their unique identity and practices for tourism is conceptualized as ethnic tourism and as substantiated by Hiwasaki (2000), ethnic tourism displays the culture of the host community. This study also finds that revenue is gained from tours of the communities and their environs, the sale of food and artifacts as well as from performances of the art form in terms of dancing, drumming, and music. These economic activities enable local development and visitors are left with fulfilling experiences from their engagements which Yeoman (2012) purports is the trend for current tourists. According to Taylor (2016), these experiences will translate into a richer memory of experiences when visitors return. Additionally, the artifacts are ideal memorabilia to support the experiences. Sinclair-Maragh (2016) believes that memorabilia are important in reinforcing the experiences and memories of visitors. Ethnic tourism can therefore be used to bridge the gap mentioned in Urry's (2002) theory of tourism gaze in this context, as tourists are given the opportunity to interact with the Maroons and learn more about their traditions that have shaped their culture.

Another finding of the study is that the Maroon's ethnic identity and traditions were further promoted through efforts to preserve their cultural practices and from passing on these traditions to the younger generation through practice. Their annual celebrations honoring the initial leaders also help in showcasing the traditions of the Maroons and by way of learning and participating; these are preserved and passed on from one generation to another.

Theme 3: The role of tourism in promoting and retaining the Maroons' identity and traditions

The study reveals that tourism can promote and retain the Maroons' identity and traditions. Through ethnic tourism, the Maroon descendants are able to promote their cultural

identity and traditions. They are in a better position to offer more valuable insights into ethnic tourism compared to different sects of Jamaicans that work in other tourist destinations. This is because they are armed with more knowledge regarding their culture as passed on to them by their ancestors. Their stories of how they overcame challenges of diversity in the early 17th century and emerged as an integrated society are pertinent knowledge that can be shared with pride. As pointed out by Sinclair-Maragh (2016), having relevant information is a positive cue for heritage attractions. This also suggests that ethnic identity is formed as one becomes aware of historical events that have shaped the current way of life. The importance of ethnic identity is garnered based on the uniqueness observed in one's values and behavior as one interacts with other cultures. The history of slavery and freedom as experienced by Africans in Jamaica during the colonial periods of Jamaica's history has shaped a unique strain of ethnic identity that has evolved through the years to now be prized as an accomplishment, especially when one reminisces about the sacrifices made by the Maroons and what have been accomplished to date.

In one of the Maroon communities, it was believed that government has an important role to play in the development of the community. There is the need for better infrastructure in terms of roads, potable water supply to homes and the construction of a cultural center in the community. Government has an important role to play in developing ethnic tourism by providing the required resources (Yang et al., 2008) as well as enabling tourism flows and marketing (Yang & Wall, 2016). With this realization, the government of Jamaica through the Ministry of Tourism pledged to assist the Accompong Maroon Community through the improvement of infrastructure to include repairs to roadways and public facilities and new signage. Included in the plans is the construction of a Cultural Centre to enable the preservation of cultural practices through the development of talents and capabilities. This village will be the first to be included in the general marketing thrust to market experiences in Jamaica. The aim is to promote the annual January 6 Maroon Festival held in the community and improve visitor count to the area (Jamaica Observer, 2017). It was deduced from the interview, that one of the Maroon communities has actually developed a working relationship with the government where plans are in place to construct a recreation area and reinstate the original Maroon village. The aim is to provide gainful employment and generate income.

5 FURTHER DISCUSSION

The study explored heritage tourism within the framework of ethnic identity by examining tourism as a tool for promoting the ethnic identity and traditions of the Maroons in Jamaica. The findings show that tourism has the potential to not only promote the Maroon's identity and traditions but also to retain them for generations to come. Tourism provides a structured approach for the showcasing of their heritage and traditions to visitors and in doing so, these practices are being passed on to the younger generation as they themselves are involved in the activities.

The main significance of the study is that tourism can be used as a tool for sustaining ethnic identity under the premise of

ethnic tourism which is a form of heritage tourism. This finding can therefore be generalized to other ethnic groups in Jamaica as well as other Maroon communities in the Caribbean and South America with both regions being renowned tourist destinations. The ethnicity and traditions of these aborigines or indigenous sects will be preserved and this can rebuild ethnic pride. Although the Maroons are integrated into the respective country's social and political affairs, they will remain distinct as an ethnic group and maintain communalism. Aside from emotive benefits, ethnic groups can benefit from sustainable heritage or ethnic tourism businesses through performances and the selling of craft and artifacts to visitors.

For the Maroon's ethnicity to be used for and maintained through tourism, proper planning, coordination, training and financing would be required. In addition, there is the need for resources such as infrastructure development to include accessible roadways and transportation to these communities as well as road signage and other infrastructure. These plans are to be considered and implemented by the tourism ministry through its agencies. Both parties stand to benefit as ethnic tourism will diversify the tourism product from the mass concept of sun, sand and sea, creating more attractions and deriving additional revenue. The government needs to put more focus on this type of tourism by creating the policy framework to institutionalize ethnic tourism for the Maroon sect. Private sector entities in tourism can likewise enable ethnic tourism through partnership with the Maroons. This can be achieved through planned tours from the hotels to these communities and having Maroon performances as a part of their entertainment packages in hotels, restaurants and events.

A major contribution of the study is that it will advance the literature on ethnic tourism and its role in preserving culture and traditions. Future studies can extensively examine the role of government and other stakeholders in sustaining the ethnic identity of the Jamaican Maroons through ethnic tourism. Likewise, a comparative analysis of the factors that are hindering and promoting the Maroons' identity in Jamaica with other Maroon communities across the Caribbean can be carried out.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The Maroon communities in Jamaica were established as free villages when the slaves fled the colonial plantations to the mountainous regions of the country. These African descendants are endowed with unique ethnic traditions, however, their inter-ethnic rivalries, lack of internal resources, the decline in ethnic pride and over-reliance on external resources have been identified as factors that are hindering them from sustaining their ethnic identity. Nonetheless, the leaders in these communities are using their best efforts to promote and preserve the heritage and identity of this ethnic group despite these influences. This determination to preserve the Maroon's ethnic identity is being enabled by the respective community annual celebrations as well as through their cultural performances to include dancing, drumming and singing. Overall, the Maroon communities are aiming at sustaining their ethnic identity through ethnic tourism which is a form of heritage tourism.

The government is having a better appreciation of the Maroon's ethnicity and is aiming to improve, develop and market their tourism product, which will subsequently enable the further preservation of their culture. This is reassuring as Jamaica's tourism industry's constant reliance on external resources and investments from other countries can hinder the destination's ability to grow sustainably. Ethnic tourism by way of the Maroon sect can be among the special interest tourism offerings.

A major limitation of the study is that the in-depth interviews were conducted three years prior to the publication of this study. In addition, current literature particularly on the subject matters of ethnic tourism and the Maroon communities in Jamaica was not available for review and analysis. Likewise, the location and terrain of the Maroon communities made it difficult to visit these locations to conduct the face-to-face interview as well as observe their traditions and surroundings.

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